1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
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muskets by the Europeans, the locks of which, with their effect in striking fire, was a subject of great astonishment to them; and thus they were named, as it were, *the fire-striking people.*

2. *W'Tassone*, the Oneidas. This name means the *stone-pipe makers*, and was given to them on account of their ingenuity in making tobacco pipes of stone.

3. *Onondágoes*, the Onondagoes. This name signifies in their own language *on the top of the hill*, their town being so situated.

4. *Queúgue*, Cayugas, thus called after a lake of the same name.

5. *Mechachtúni*, the Senecas. This name means *Mountaineers*, and was given them because they inhabited the hilly parts of the country.

6. The *Tuscaroras*, the sixth and last tribe in the league, they call by the same name, yet I have never heard the Lenape speak of the *six divisions or tribes*; when they describe them in that manner, it is always by the number *Five*.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS.

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THE Indian considers himself as a being created by an all-powerful, wise and benevolent Mannitto;* all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use by the Great Spirit who gave him life: he therefore believes it to be his duty

* Being, or Spirit.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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to adore and worship his Creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favours, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuation of his good will.*

As beings who have controul over all beasts and living creatures, they feel their importance; before they saw white people or men of a different colour from their own, they considered themselves as God's favourites, and believed that if the Great Mannitto could reside on earth he would associate with them and be their great chief.

The Indian also believes, that he is highly favoured by his Maker, not only in having been created different in shape and in mental and bodily powers from other animals, but in being enabled to controul and master them all, even those of an enormous size and of the most ferocious kinds; and therefore, when he worships his Creator in his way, he does not omit in his supplications to pray that he may be endowed with courage to fight and conquer his enemies, among whom he includes all savage beasts; and when he has performed some heroic act, he will not forget to acknowledge it as a mark of divine favour, by making a sacrifice to the great and good Mannitto, or by publicly announcing that his success was entirely owing to the courage given him by the all-powerful Spirit. Thus, habitual devotion to the great First Cause, and a strong feeling of gratitude for the benefits which he confers, is one of the prominent traits which characterise the mind of the untutored Indian.

* An old Indian told me about fifty years ago, that when he was young, he still followed the custom of his father and ancestors, in climbing upon a high mountain or pinnacle, to thank the Great Spirit for all the benefits before bestowed, and to pray for a continuance of his favour; that they were sure their prayers were heard, and acceptable to the Great Spirit, although he did not himself appear to them.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Not satisfied with paying this first of duties to the Lord of all, in the best manner they are able, the Indians also endeavour to fulfil the views which they suppose he had in creating the world. They think that he made the earth and all that it contains for the common good of mankind; when he stocked the country that he gave them with plenty of game, it was not for the benefit of a few, but of all. Every thing was given in common to the sons of men. Whatever liveth on the land, whatsoever groweth out of the earth, and all that is in the rivers and waters flowing through the same, was given jointly to all, and every one is entitled to his share. From this principle, hospitality flows as from its source. With them it is not a virtue but a strict duty. Hence they are never in search of excuses to avoid giving, but freely supply their neighbour's wants from the stock prepared for their own use. They give and are hospitable to all, without exception, and will always share with each other and often with the stranger, even to their last morsel. They rather would lie down themselves on an empty stomach, than have it laid to their charge that they had neglected their duty, by not satisfying the wants of the stranger, the sick or the needy. The stranger has a claim to their hospitality, partly on account of his being at a distance from his family and friends, and partly because he has honoured them by his visit, and ought to leave them with a good impression upon his mind; the sick and the poor because they have a right to be helped out of the common stock: for if the meat they have been served with, was taken from the woods, it was common to all before the hunter took it; if corn or vegetables, it had grown out of the common ground, yet not by the power of man, but by that of the Great Spirit. Besides, on the principle, that all are descended from one parent, they look upon themselves as but one great family, who therefore ought at all times and on all occasions, to be serviceable and kind to each other, and by that means

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

754 practice of the black art. Most are deceivers who pretend to be able to leap over a river or from one mountain to another. Old women are sometimes accused of being witches. If a child dies suddenly some one will pretend to have seen an old woman with the child at night, who is then believed to have bewitched the little one. Some old woman or another Indian may thus, though quite innocent, be thought guilty of witchcraft and be thus considered to the end of life. Again there are witches supposed to go through the towns at night in the form of an owl or a fox. It is nothing strange that an owl or a fox should get into the town, as many of the towns are surrounded by the forest. Such witches are supposed to kill Indians, bring disease and plague into the town. The worst is said to be that when such animals are shot at they do not die, being able to close up the wound caused by the bullet.

It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered.

771 That the Indians have some sort of religion and mode of worship whereby they endeavor to please the Deity, cannot be denied. Their worship, however, is unreasoning devotion. It is remarkable that savages who have been cut off from association with other nations for no one knows how many centuries should have so much knowledge of Deity that is handed down from generation to generation.

They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors, but where the dwelling place of the Deity is they know not. They have always heard that whoever lives a virtuous life, refrains from stealing, murder and immorality,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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would at death go to some good place where conditions would be better than here, where there would be a superfluity of everything and a happy life of joy and dancing. On the contrary, whoever lived an evil life would arrive at no good place but have to wander about sad and unhappy. Hence nothing is so terrible and awful to them as death, because they do not know how it will be after this life nor whither they shall go. Whenever they think of death they are filled with anxiety, but rather than consider how they ought to live they seek to rid themselves of thoughts of death. They fear the thunderbolt, because it occasionally strikes and shatters the trees, but they seek to disguise their fear. Yet they believe that the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed towards men, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support. Indeed, as to fish and deer they imagine them given particularly to the Indians and not so much to the whites for the Indians were created to sustain themselves by the chase and the whites by the work of their hands. There are indeed some among them who pretend to be able to bring rain when there has been drought, and such a person knowing that the women, whose business it is to care for the plantations, are anxious for rain shows his cleverness in deceiving the people. Noticing from cloudy appearances early in the morning that it is likely to rain during the day, he will tell some one, that if tobacco or something else that he wishes is given him he will bring rain. The party so informed will tell the women, who in their joy contribute each a little and bring the fellow what he desires. The latter goes to some lonely place, draws a circle on the ground, makes a cross within it and puts tobacco, a pumpkin and some red coloring into it as well, seats himself, sings and shouts so that he may be heard, continuing if possible until it begins to rain. Even sensible Indians believe that he has brought the rain because under the circumstances it generally rains. In case the rain fails to come he makes promises for another day.

They believe God to be almighty and able to do as he pleases. Hence in times past they brought sacrifices and still do this

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

776 making their offerings not directly to the Deity but to things of his creation, as will later appear. No one has ever heard that they have sacrificed to the devil, whom together with all evil spirits they abhor, believing that all evil comes from them, even as all good comes from God.

[777] They seem to have had no idea of the devil until in modern times preachers arose among them who proclaimed that there was such a being, having secured their knowledge from the whites. They have no very definite conception of him but consider him to be a very powerful spirit, able to work much harm and unable to do any good. Many say also that Indians would never be claimed by the devil, however wicked they might be in the world, because he existed only for the whites who wrought evil. They declare that he is not to be found among the Indians but only among the white people, for if he were among the Indians they would long since have discovered him, and their ancestors would have told them about him. They did know, however, about good and evil spirits which appears from this: when crimes had been committed, the guilty ones laid the blame on an evil spirit who had seduced them. They have also been accustomed to admonish one another in time of war not to give ear to the evil spirit but to the good spirit who counseled peace. They also knew nothing of Hell, believing only that 771 wicked men would go to no good place after this life. They have no proper term for such a place other than *Machtandonwinck* which means, with the devil, *Machtando* meaning the Evil One. They have never had regularly appointed priests, the oldest men having usually performed the sacrifices, admonished the people to good life and conduct, warned them against immorality, murder and violence, if they would be happy, attain to great age and after death get to the good place. How much this meant among blind savages who were dead in sins and had not the ability to withstand evil and vice may be readily imagined. It is possible that the admonitions of the aged availed to the extent of restraining wickedness, so that it did not break forth as it does at the present time. It is undoubtedly true that there were formerly fewer vices than now. Of some forms of indulgence they know nothing, for example of strong drink,

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness. 771

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *W'tellenapetwoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *W'tschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before. 774

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure. 775

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those 773

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

RELIGION

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A STUDY of the material presented shows that the Lenape believed in a Great Spirit, or Creator, whose goodness is acknowledged, who is thanked for past blessings and petitioned for their continuance, but who is not their only god. He is, however, the great chief of all, and dwells in the twelfth, or highest heaven. He created everything, either with his own hands or through agents sent by him, and all the powers of nature were assigned to their duties by his word. That these concepts are not new among the Lenape may be seen from the fact that most of the early writers who treat of this people have noticed such beliefs among them, which can be traced back as far as 1679.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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This Great Spirit gave the four quarters of the earth and the winds that come from them to four powerful beings, or *mant'-towûk*, namely, Our Grandfather where daylight begins, Our Grandmother where it is warm, Our Grandfather where the sun goes down, and Our Grandfather where it is winter. To the Sun and the Moon, regarded as persons and addressed as Elder Brothers by the Indians, he gave the duty of providing light, and to our Elder Brothers the Thunders, man-like beings with wings, the task of watering the crops, and of protecting the people against the Great Horned Serpents and other water monsters. To the Living Solid Face, or Mask Being, was given charge of all the wild animals; to the Corn Spirit, control over all vegetation, while Our Mother, the Earth, received the task of carrying and feeding the people.

Besides these powerful personages were many lesser ones, such as the Small People, the Doll Being, the Snow Boy, and the Great Bear. Certain localities,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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moreover, were the abode of supernatural beings, while animals and plants were thought to have spirits of their own. Besides these there were, of course, the countless spirits of the human dead who were still supposed to retain some influence in earthly affairs.

This, then, was the supernatural world which, to the mind of the Lenape, controlled all things—on which they must depend for health, for success in all their undertakings, even the daily task of deer-hunting or corn-raising. Benevolent beings must be pleased, and bad spirits combated and overcome, or at least placated.

There was, however, until very lately, no conception of a "devil" in the modern sense of the word.

The main channel of communication between the supernatural world and man was the dream or vision, obtained, as before described, by fasting and consequent purification in youth. Through the vision the young man obtained his guardian spirit or supernatural helper,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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who gave him some power or blessing that was his main dependence through life, his aid in time of trouble, the secret of his success. No wonder, then, that visions and helpers form the basis of Lenape belief and worship. Among the guardian spirits figured not only such great powers as the Sun and the Thunder Beings, the personified powers of nature, but the spirits representing various species of animals and birds, such as the Wolf or the Owl, of plants, as "Mother Corn," as well as the Mask Being, and even the spirits of the dead which some Lenape claimed as helpers. 771 ● 787

Those favored by such visions were considered the leading people of their community. They usually composed rythmic chants referring to their visions, and appropriate dance songs to go with them, to recite at the Annual Ceremony. [554]

Belief in a soul or spirit surviving the death of the body formed an integral part of Lenape philosophy. The soul is supposed to linger for eleven days after death, 771 775

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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and is addressed and offered food by the surviving relatives, sometimes in a formal "Feast of the Dead;" but on the twelfth day, they say, it leaves the earth and finally makes its way to the twelfth or highest heaven, the home of the Great Spirit, where it leads a happy life in a land where work and worry are unknown. Some persons are thought to have the power of communicating with the departed.

CEREMONIES

Most of the beliefs summarized above were found among the descendants of both Unami and Minsi; but when we consider their great religious ceremonies, we begin to note differences. While it is true that (1) in both cases these rites are based on the recital of the visions seen by the participants, combined with thanksgiving to the Great Spirit and his helpers for past blessings and prayers for their renewal, that (2) the New Fire ceremony figures in both, and that (3) they take place in a building of special

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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771 The succession of creed teachings which developed in the course of Delaware recorded religious history after the exodus from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi and the southern plains has followed within a fairly uniform contour. The pattern has remained intact even under the domination of a succession of native revealers and prophets whose "arrogant dogmas" thwarted the efforts of the first Moravian missionaries in the seventeenth century. It has lasted on through the turbulent period of colonial wars and the Revolution, until the adoption of the Peyote worship in the last quarter of the century just passed.

And there are those whose interests are aroused when clearer inspection of the country's aboriginal institutions becomes possible through the efforts of ethnologists exploring the still existent tribes, in recording and interpreting native custom before it is swept away by changes lately going on.

And finally, there are those who see the institutions described here with the eyes of appreciators favored by fortune with a breadth of understanding to sense a realization of sacred antiquity in the limitless vistas environing the past of America's unwritten religions. I wonder if by gaining an insight into religious customs of the tribe he will see how Delaware religion has authentic qualities in that it represents a growth-phase of nature interpretation, sympathetic and rationalized, which causes one to enter into its meanings in reference to the forest world with an awakened understanding.

829 771 Like other aboriginal groups in the east (the Algonquin, Ojibwa, Wabanaki, Montagnais-Naskapi and even the Iroquois—respectively Man-beings, Wise-men, Native-men, Native-born-men and Man-men, literally translated) the Delawares proclaim their self-conscious human status by designating themselves as *Lənaʻpeək*, Common, or Ordinary, Men, as distinct from other creations. It is in their consciousness of possessing human arts and industries bestowed upon them by their creator that they distinguish themselves from the animals and other living forms. But their high relief of distinction from other created beings lies in the endowment of mental attributes, the superiorities which elevate them

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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above all non-human life forms, and in particular the endowment of their own system of worship for which they are directly responsible to the Creator himself. Herein is born their tradition of religion, the very center of their culture, denoted by an abstraction, *lənapeɔ'k·an*, literally "human (Delaware) soul, or culture," a term occasionally encountered in the reflections of the speakers quoted in the texts. Upon such criteria of judgment the Lənape rate themselves as creatures far above the emergence level. And we have before us part of the evidence in the religious forms recorded in the preceding pages. To be sure the mass content of rites and ceremonies has been declining before the inroads of European influence. A mere pitiful residue is at hand, as the orator has frequently reiterated in his sermons. The native nations of Indians on the Atlantic seaboard were by no means crude or a primitive people.

That this essay is a sequel and complement to my Big House Ceremony volume (1931) need scarcely be repeated. Where that treats the composite rites whose aims are to invoke, address and thank the Creator, this deals with procedures directed toward influencing the lesser spiritual forces, to afford them satisfaction and to secure immunity from their imaginary persecutions. All is framed in accordance with a native concept of the workings of natural law as put in motion by the will of the Father, the Creator. The rites described are dominated by a constant idea in the minds of the people, to wit: that of being in the midst of a universe of partly-known spiritual beings potentially pernicious. Some among them are approachable by the proper forms of address on the part of man for the removal of harmful influences. When the corrective measures to alleviate the evils of spirit agencies are known they constitute the rites of relief, and here we have them collected; their philosophy of the uncertainties. A far-reaching distinction is observable between the Delaware attitude toward the Creator, who is consistently benign, and the spirits of lower rank addressed in the rites now treated whose attributes are not. These observations bring out the contrast between the ceremonies dealt with here and those

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

covered in the Big House Ceremony. The infallible Father and Creator seated in the twelfth heaven above, in his beneficence toward man is believed to yearn for the voiced recognition of his creatures as they pay their devoirs to him—his human children gathered to celebrate the twelve day ceremony of the Big House. Even his creatures the trees recognize his all-high benevolence when murmuring their prayers to him in the rustling of leaves, and the birds whose voices are also prayer-calls. We learn again how only the created beings can depart from the rule of goodness and perfection; the lesser spirits, those on earth, mankind, animals, and plants. In man's struggle to avert the evil purposes of his spiritual opponents there have developed the means of checking their evil tendencies and consequent misfortunes. Thus are accounted for the rites and ceremonies. When the source of specific persecution has been discovered, the Delaware discovers the spiritual means for relief through revelation. Thus he has laid his mind open to the accumulation of visions and visitations and to their acceptance as verities. Most typical are the cases where captured and partly tamed animals, friends and pets at first, are imagined to possess lurking potencies of evil. They, like man, combine the opposed natures of good and evil. Caprice, it seems, decides their reactions toward each other. Yet throughout is the realization of the ruling principle of good in the abstract represented by the Creator, invoked through the medium of spirits nearest to him to intercede for the people's good. So we interpret the functions of the ceremonial rites and addresses which form so valuable a part of the material provided here by our informants. The systems revealed are not stupid and "superstitious" but poetical in their undertones of reasoning: poetical mechanisms of escape.

Thus having gone through the data gathered for preservation through some years of study at the feet of native informants, we build up the structure of knowledge providing source material for future students in the field of the humanities. In doing so we anticipate that unhappy time now hastened by the forces of commerce and "mass civilization" when

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). 821
This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period 177
of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very in- 771
susceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good 776
and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a 775
future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of 775
the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification 177
(37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 177 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 177 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts otherwise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national 794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known, 797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, especially when it is the older people in the group that have charge of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evidence of having been marked with a wooden post even though a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were enclosed with stone or wood cribs.

I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quantitatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chronology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have occurred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation depending on the absence or presence of complete political domination.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

805 821 *6. Names of seasons*

The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takǫk*,[1] autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER *Anixi gischuch*—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes

ZEISBERGER —Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

[1] The character ǫ has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.[1] We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the *mores* of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.[2]

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

● 771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

"The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme re-
[778 532] ligion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

[1] J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares,
[182] moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed, (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's Walamolum (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

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end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak·e·'landamowa'k·an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] liuxw'ndowak·an.
[3] owe·'landamowa'k·an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] ma·'mendowa'k·an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi·'tsowa'k·an.
[6] lape·'mkwus·i·n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k·an, "sympathy."
[8] wolangosowa'k·an, "peacefulness." (aspale·'tamowak·an)
[9] woli·'nak·wsowa'k·an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k·an, "universal blessedness."

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771 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civ-
114 ilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather
346 difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms
778 of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pole", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved face images, the revereneed masi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·i·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as kwtchak·i·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

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it is still of equal importance to note that ki'tci-mani'tu is employed among the Delaware only by the Christian converts. I have previously mentioned the habit of the unconverted group of the tribe to avoid using religious terms adopted by their Christian kinsmen.

Radin[1] has expressed an opinion quite generally entertained among American ethnologists, that amid the varied types of disposition exhibited among savage as well as civilized people, it is those individuals of a religious and aesthetic temperament that the population finds its religious leaders, and that such minds are, in different races and regions, the authors of definitely monotheistic systems of thought. This seems applicable to the Delawares, for it is the visionaries who hold the preeminence of leadership in the ceremonies and who are at the same time the leaders of thought. They constitute, indeed, an eclectic priestly group in the tribe, though in ordinary life they are but laymen.

As we have it, the worship of the Supreme Deity and the lesser deities in Delaware offers a noteworthy correspondence to holy adoration in the Roman Church—to latry and dulia. Were it not for the fact that the Delawares were never under the ministrations of Roman Catholic evangelists it might seem that the Indians attempted an interpretation of the forms of Catholicism in their own terms, compromising with Christianity by refusing conversion and baptism but assimilating part of the doctrine.

In regard to this Zeisberger writes, "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else."[2] Heckewelder offers practically the same testimony, while earlier and later authors repeat what we also find in our text, a summary of evidence sufficient to establish the fact for Delaware belief that a Supreme Creative power with indications of anthropopathetic qualities, overtops the pantheism.[3] Heckewelder says, "It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior Mannittos, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests:[4] these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger."[5]

[1] Paul Radin, *Monotheism Among Primitive Peoples*, Lond. (1924) (Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, v. 7).

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 128.

[3] The entire range of the Delaware religious phenomena, from secondary sources, has been reviewed and discussed sagely by P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. (Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929, II Teil, 408-448). Father Schmidt favors the idea of the aboriginal grasp of the Supreme Being concept among the Delawares.

[4] The term eka'lasme denotes the proportion of supernatural strength possessed by the man-i't-uwak, given them by the Great Spirit.

[5] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 212.

[¶ 54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[776] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

[90] [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)-- Analyst]

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers	·	−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+			776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+			
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
33. Judgment immediately after death		+?				+	+	+	+	+	•			
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+			
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	−	+	+	−			
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+		−	+	+	−			
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+		−	+	+	−			
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	Up	Up	Up	W& Up			
bad souls						Up	·	·	Up	Up	Up			
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+			
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	+	−			
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+			
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+			
Medicine														
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †														
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+	−	+			
Consumption					+				−	+	−			
Pleurisy						+			+	+	+			
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+			
Dysentery				+					−		+			
Rheumatism				+	+				+	−	+			
Boils				+					+		−			
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+			
45. Cupping common				+					−		−			
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+			
48. Receive any education					−	−		−	−	−	−			
49. Called by divine agency in youth								−	+	+	+			
50. Count pulse						−		+	+	+	+			
51. Inquire into nature of complaint						+		+	+	+	+			
						343	755	756	757	164	774	754	775	793

Crow NQ4D
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																		
	HT	K-A	Kio	Com	Ke	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Dia	Gos	W-P	Tse		
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+		
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(–)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+			
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+			
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+		
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+			
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		+		+		+	+		
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+			
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	•–	+		
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				–	+						+		+			
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			–	+		+			
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+			
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	–		–	+	+	+	+			+	+	•	+	+		
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–			+	+	•	+			
265a. (See note)																			

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